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#### IV. — Greek Literary Notices of Olympic Victor Monuments outside Olympia

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IN a recent article I discussed the topographical location of the victor statues set up in the Altis at Olympia.<sup>1</sup> The present paper gives a list of the monuments of various kinds dedicated to Olympic victors in other parts of the Greek world, which are known from notices in Greek writers and from inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Like the statues in the Altis, these also range in date from the seventh century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The list is arranged, so far as possible, in chronological sequence, the authorities for the dates of the victories being given in the notes.<sup>3</sup>

Victors with monuments of the seventh century B.C. :

1. *Chionis*, of Sparta.<sup>4</sup> Besides his statue by Myron and

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVI (1912), no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sepulchral monuments are either entirely excluded or mentioned only incidentally. I find the tombs of nine Olympic victors recorded.

<sup>3</sup> Frequent references are made to the following works, which are thus abbreviated: Rutgers = *S. Iulii Africani 'Oλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ, adiectis ceteris quae ex Olympionicarum fastis supersunt* recensuit, commentario critico instruit I. Rutgers, Leyden, 1862; the victor lists of Africanus (= Afr.) appear in Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. A. Schoene, vol. 1, 193 f., Berlin, 1875; Foerster = H. Foerster, *Die Sieger in den olympischen Spielen*, Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Zwickau, 1891-92; *Oxyrh. Pap.* = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt, Part II, pp. 222 ff., London, 1899, which contains lists of Olympic victors of Ols. 75-83, Robert O. S. = C. Robert, "Die Ordnung der olympischen Spiele und die Sieger der 75-83 Olympiade," *Hermes*, 1900, pp. 141 f.; Hyde = W. Hyde, *De Olympionicarum Statuis a Pausania commemoratis*, Halle, 1903; Loewy = E. Loewy, *Inscripfen griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig, 1885; Preger = *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter anthologiam collectae*, ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig, 1891; Kaibel = *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, ed. G. Kaibel, Berlin, 1890; Hitzig-Bluemner = *Pausaniae Graecae Descriptio*, ed. H. Hitzig et H. Bluemner, Berlin, 1896-1907 (vols. I, II, and first part of III have appeared); Frazer = Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, ed. J. G. Frazer, vols. I-VI, London, 1898. Other abbreviations will be readily understood.

<sup>4</sup> Chionis (= Charmis in Afr.), according to P. III, 14, 3, won seven victories,

tablet containing a list of his victories at Olympia mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 13, 2), the same writer records a similar tablet in Sparta near the royal tombs of the Agids, likewise set up by his townsmen (iii, 14, 3).

2. *Cylon*, of Athens.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias mentions a bronze statue of this victor on the Athenian acropolis, which he says was erected in honor of his beauty and reputation as an Olympic victor (i, 28, 1).

3. *Hipposthenes*, of Sparta.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias records that a temple was dedicated to him in Sparta, where he received divine worship (iii, 15, 7).

Of the sixth century B.C. :

4. *Hetoemocles*, son of preceding, of Sparta.<sup>3</sup> Pausanias mentions his statue at Sparta (iii, 13, 9).

*στάδιον* (4) in Ols. 28-31 = B.C. 668-656 (1-4 = Afr.; 1 = P. iv, 23, 4; 2 = P. iv, 23, 10; 3 = P. viii, 39, 3); *δίαυλος* (3) probably in Ols. 29-31 (see Rutgers, p. 11, n. 4); cf. Rutgers, pp. 10-11; Foerster, nos. 39, 41-46; Hyde, no. 111. The Spartan tablet, like the monuments at Olympia, was doubtless set up long after the victory, about Ols. 77-78 (see Hyde, pp. 15 and 48).

<sup>1</sup> Cylon won *δίαυλος* (1) in Ol. 35 = 640 B.C. (Afr.); cf. Rutgers, p. 13, Foerster, no. 55. Cylon was the leader of the well-known conspiracy of 632 B.C., when he tried to make himself tyrant of Athens (Herod. v, 71; Thucyd. i, 126, Plutarch, *Solon*, 12). Furtwängler, *Ath. Mitt.* v, 27, Anm. 1, thinks this was not a monument set up to Cylon by the Athenians as Pausanias says, but a dedication of his family after his victory; Kuhnert, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, Supplbd. xiv, 278, agrees with Furtwängler, but thinks it was set up after Cylon's death, and thinks it possible that the name of the conspirator became mixed with that of an Athenian of the same name, of later date. A. Schaefer, *Arch. Zeit.* xxiv, 183, and Frazer, ii, 348, think the statue was an expiatory offering for the massacre of Cylon's companions on the Acropolis (Thucyd. i, 134), set up in the time of Pericles, which would account for the "beauty" of the statue. Loeschke, however, *Ath. Mitt.* iv, 295, Anm. 1, thinks Pausanias' remark was called forth by the epigram on the statue; cf. Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 1, pp. 299-300.

<sup>2</sup> Hipposthenes' six victories in *πάλη* are mentioned by P. iii, 13, 9. He won *πάλη παίδων*, Ol. 37 = 632 B.C. (P. v, 8, 9, and Afr.), *πάλη ἀνδρῶν* in Ols. 39-43 = 624-608 B.C. (Afr.); cf. Rutgers, pp. 15-16; Foerster, nos. 60, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73. It has been argued that the words of Pausanias show that Hipposthenes here was only in the character of Poseidon, whose epithet was *ἐπικτος*; cf. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 38 f., Leipzig, 1893, and Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 11, 792.

<sup>3</sup> Hetoemocles' five victories in *πάλη* are mentioned by P. iii, 13, 9. He must have won after his father's victories, and so at the beginning of the sixth century; cf. Rutgers, pp. 109 and 130 (he conjectures the first victory was *πάλη παίδων*), Foerster, nos. 86-90.

5. *Arrhachion*, of Phigaleia.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias records a stone statue of archaic pose and effaced inscription erected to this victor in the market-place at Phigaleia (VIII, 40, 1).

6. *Philippus*, son of Butacides, of Croton.<sup>2</sup> The Egeataeans erected a shrine over his grave in their town and paid him divine honors on account of his beauty, in which he surpassed all his contemporaries (Herod. v, 47; Eust., Homer's *Il.* III, p. 383, 43).

Of the fifth century B.C.:

7. *Astylus*, of Croton.<sup>3</sup> Besides mentioning his statue by Pythagoras of Rhegium at Olympia, Pausanias, in the same passage (VI, 13, 1), mentions another in the temple of Lacinian Hera near Croton, which his townsmen pulled down in

<sup>1</sup> Arrhachion (on various spellings of the name, cf. Rutgers, p. 19) won *παγκράτιον* (3) in Ols. 52-54 = 572-564 B.C. (3 = Afr. and P. VIII, 40, 1; 1-2 = P. *l.c.* and Philostratus, *de Gymn. Arte*, p. 272, ch. 21, ed. Jüthner, Leipzig, 1909). Cf. Rutgers, p. 19 and p. 20, n. 1; Foerster, nos. 98, 101, 103. This statue was one of the oldest Olympic victor statues and conformed in style to the "Apollo" type (*i.e.* Apollo of Tenea, Thera, Orchomenus, etc.). Frazer, IV, 391, says during his visit to Phigaleia in 1890, he saw a stone statue in the neighboring town of Pavlitz, whose pose and half-effaced inscription below the neck agreed with Pausanias' description exactly. This statue will be published by the writer in the near future.

<sup>2</sup> Philippus won in an unknown contest. He accompanied Dorieus, the younger brother of King Cleomenes I, of Sparta, on his futile expedition to Sicily, and died there (Herod., v, 47). Cleomenes began to reign 519 B.C., and the expedition of the exiled Dorieus occurred about 510 B.C. So Foerster, no. 138, would date the victory of Philippus about Ol. 65 = 520 B.C.; cf. Rutgers, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Astylus (on variations of the name, see Rutgers, pp. 32 sq.) won victories in *στάδιον* and *δίαυλος* in three successive Ols. (P. VI, 13, 1), *στάδιον* in Ols. 73-75 = 488-480 B.C. (1 = Afr. and Dionys. Hal. VIII, 1; 2 = Afr. and Dionys. VIII, 77; 3 = Afr. and Dionys. IX, 1, and Diod. Sic. XI, 1). So the victories in *δίαυλος*, 1, 2, 3, must have been in the same Ols. The *Oxyrh. Pap.* also names Astylus as victor as *ὀπλίτης* in Ols. 75-76 = 480-476 B.C. So Grenfell and Hunt thought P. had mixed the victories in *δίαυλος* and *ὀπλίτης*; Robert, *O.S.* pp. 163 f., however, supports P., and thinks Astylus won eight victories, the victories in *δίαυλος* and *στάδιον* all preceding Ol. 76, as other names appear here in the papyrus. Astylus, therefore, won three victories in Ol. 75, one in Ol. 76, and the other four in Ols. 73-74. Cf. Rutgers, pp. 32, 34-35; Foerster, nos. 176-177, 181-182, 187-188; Hyde, no. 110. Rutgers, p. 34, n. 1, and Robert, *O.S. l.c.*, have shown that the tyrant named Hiero by Pausanias should be Gelo; cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. v. Hellas u. Rom*, I, 181. Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture grecque*, I, 409, thinks the Crotonian statue was also by Pythagoras. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv, 59, calls the statue of Astylus "stadiodromos."

anger at his calling himself a Syracusan to please the Sicilian tyrant.

8. *Euthymus*, son of Astycles, of Locri Epizephyrrii (S. Italy).<sup>1</sup> In addition to his statue by Pythagoras of Rhegium at Olympia mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 6, 4-6; cf., from him, Suidas, *s.v.* *Εὐθύμος*), whose inscribed base has been recovered (*Inscr. v. Ol.* n. 144 = Loewy, n. 23 = Roehl, *Inscript. Gr. antiquiss.*, n. 388), we know of another statue by the same sculptor, which was set up in Locri (see Callimachus [= ed. Schneider, II, 579, frag. 399] in Pliny, *H.N.* vii, 152).

9. *Theagenes*, son of Timosthenes, of Thasos.<sup>2</sup> Besides mentioning his statue at Olympia (vi, 11, 2), Pausanias says he knows of many other places in Greece and elsewhere where images of this victor were set up (vi, 11, 9), and records one at Thasos (vi, 11, 6 sq.), to which the Thasians sacrifice as to a god (cf. also Athenagoras, *Supplic. pro Christianis*, 14, p. 62, ed. Otto).

10. *Ladas*, of Sparta.<sup>3</sup> Two fourth-century epigrams (*An-*

<sup>1</sup> Euthymus won πύξ (3) in Ols. 74, 76-77 = 484, 476-472 B.C. (1 = P. vi, 6, 5; 2 and 3 = P. vi, 6, 6 and *Oxyrh. Pap.*) Cf. Rutgers, pp. 34, 38, 41; Foerster, nos. 185, 195, 207; Robert, *O.S.* pp. 167, 184; Hyde, no. 56. According to the statement of Callimachus, both statues were struck by lightning at the same time. Other writers tell wondrous tales of this famous boxer: Strabo, vi, 255, Aelian, viii, 18, and Paus. vi, 6, 7-11; cf. Curtius, on the inscribed base found at Olympia, *Arch. Zeit.*, xxxvi, n. 127. On the legend of his statue see Euseb. *Praep. evang.* v, 34, 7 (a similar story to that of Theagenes, no. 9, note). C. Waldstein (*J.H.S.* 1880, p. 190, and 1881, p. 341) discusses other later statues, going back to that of Euthymus; cf. von Urlichs, *Archaeologische Analekten* (1885), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Theagenes won πύξ in Ol. 75 = 480 B.C. (P. vi, 6, 5, *Oxyrh. Pap.*) and παγκράτιον in Ol. 76 = 476 B.C. (P. vi, 11, 4, *Oxyrh. Pap.*); he was twice περιόδονικης, i.e. winner in all four great Greek games, and won many victories elsewhere, carrying off 1400 crowns, according to P. vi, 11, 5 (1200, according to Plut. *Praec. reipub. ger.* 15, p. 811 D). Cf. Rutgers, pp. 36, 38; Foerster, nos. 191, 196; Hyde, no. 104. Dio Chrys. *Orat.* xxxi, p. 340 M, wrongly mentions three Olympic victories. The story told by P. (vi, 11, 6) about his statue at Thasos being scourged and falling on his enemy is told at greater length by Dio Chrys. (*l.c.*) and is mentioned by Euseb. *Praep. evang.* v, 34, 7. Lucian, *Deor. conc.* 12, mentions that this statue cured fevers, like the statue of Polydamas at Olympia. Studniczka (*Ber. d. K. Saechs. Gesell. d. Wissen.*, phil. hist. Cl. 1900, p. 330) argues that these statues were erected to honor the hero and not the victor.

<sup>3</sup> Ladas won δόλιχος ? Ol. 76 = 476 (Robert, *O.S.* p. 165, because of an older dating for Myron, 480-444 B.C., necessitated by *Oxyrh. Pap.*, see pp. 172, 176;

*thol. Palatina, App. Plan.*, nos. 53 and 54) celebrate the fleetness of Ladas, who is often mentioned by Greek and Roman writers as the swiftest runner of his time. The second names Myron of Eleutherae as the statuary of a bronze statue of Ladas. Pausanias mentions a statue of the same victor in the temple of Apollo Lycius in Argos (II, 19, 7). Whether this latter statue is identical with the one mentioned in the epigram cannot be finally determined. (Cf. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, 379 Anm., who is against the identification.) Pausanias also mentions a stadium of Ladas between Mantinea and Orchomenos, where he practiced running (VIII, 12, 5), and his grave, between Belemina and Sparta (III, 21, 1).

I I. *Callias*, son of Didymias, of Athens.<sup>1</sup> Apart from his statue at Olympia, made by the Athenian "painter" Micon, mentioned by Pausanias (VI, 6, 1), there was a dedication to him at Athens, as we learn from the preserved inscription,

Foerster, no. 249, has given ? Ol. 85 = 440, on basis of the earlier dating of Myron, 460-420 B.C., e.g. Brunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Kuensler*, I, 142, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* III, 473, and cf. Rutgers, p. 107).

Foerster wrongly assumes that the statue by Myron stood in Olympia. Against this view cf. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 379 Anm. 5); Kalkmann (*Jahrb.* 1895, p. 56, and 1896, p. 197); Studniczka (article cited in note on Theagenes preceding, p. 336); Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, philos. philolog. Cl. 1880, pp. 474 f.). Benndorf (*De Anthol. Gr. epigram.* 15 Anm. 1) thought it more probable that the statue stood formerly at Olympia, but in the time of Pausanias was in Rome. Thus it is best to assume two statues, the one in Argos not by Myron. Brunn (*op. cit.* 1888, p. 475) showed that Ladas was a Spartan because of P. III, 21, 1 and VIII, 12, 5; Benndorf (*op. cit.*) thought he was an Argive. Kuhnert (*Jahrb. f. Phil. Supplbd.* xiv, 269 Anm. 13) argued that the Argive statue was set up by the Argive state, an improbable assumption if Ladas were a Spartan. A different Ladas is the runner from Aegium, mentioned by P. x, 23, 14.

<sup>1</sup> Callias won *παγκράτιον* in Ol. 77 = 472 B.C. (P. v, 9, 3). He was *περιοδικός* (*C.I.A.* 419). Cf. Foerster, no. 208; Rutgers, p. 41; Hyde, no. 50. Pseudo-Andoc., *contra Alcib.* 32, mentions the ostracism of Callias. The painter Micon is mentioned by Pliny (*H.N.* xxxiv, 88) as a sculptor of athlete statues, and is also known from an inscription (*C.I.A.* 418; cf. Loewy, no. 42). Three other Athenian victors named Callias are known: Callias, son of Phaenippus, won *κέλητι* Ol. 54 = 564 B.C.; cf. Foerster, no. 104; Rutgers, p. 21; Callias, son of Hipponicus, grandson of preceding, won *τεθρίππῳ* (3) in ? Ol. 74, 83, 84 = 484, 448, 444 B.C.; cf. Foerster, 186 a, 242, 247; Rutgers, p. 142; Callias (mentioned by Polyb. xxviii, 16) won *παγκράτιον* in second century B.C.; cf. Foerster, under no. 208.

containing a catalogue of his thirteen victories at Olympia and elsewhere (*C.I.A.* 419).

12. *Diagoras*, son of Damagetus, of Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> In addition to his statue at Olympia by Callicles, the son of Theocosmus, of Megara, mentioned as standing amid the group of statues of his sons and grandsons by Pausanias (vi, 7, 1, 2; cf. Aristotle, fr. 264, and Apollas, fr. 7 = *F.H.G.* II, 183 f.), of which the renewed inscribed base has been found (see *Inscr. v. Ol.*, no. 151), we learn from Gorgon, the scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* 7 (= Gorgon, frag. 3 = *F.H.G.* IV, 410), that this ode, which celebrated the victory of Diagoras, was attached in golden letters to the walls of the temple of Athena at Lindus.

13. *Agiās* (or Hagias), of Pharsalus.<sup>2</sup> A series of nine marble statues set up by Daochus of Pharsalus in honor of his ancestors who had won in various athletic contests, was discovered by the French excavators at Delphi in 1894 (see Homolle, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, XII (1894), 3d ser. pp. 452 sq.; *Bull. de Corr. hell.* XXI (1897), pp. 598 sq.; *ibid.* XXIII (1899), pp. 421-485). Erich Preuner (see *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, Leipzig, 1900) found the same metrical inscription on the base of the statue of Agias, the best preserved of the

<sup>1</sup> Diagoras won πύξ in *Ol.* 79 = 464 B.C. (schol. to Pindar, *Ol.* 7 and *Oxyrh. Pap.*). He was περιόδονκης, and his other victories are mentioned by Pindar and the scholiast to the ode cited. On Diagoras, see von Gelder, *Geschichte des alten Rhodos*, p. 435; on Callicles, see Robert, *O.S.* pp. 194 sq. Cf. Rutgers, p. 43; Foerster, no. 220; Robert, *O.S.* p. 191; Hyde, no. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Agias was περιόδονκης. The date of his victory in the παγκράτιον at Olympia cannot be determined exactly. Though the dedication of Daochus occurred in the latter half of the fourth century, the time of Lysippus (Preuner = between 339-331 B.C., *op. cit.* p. 12, while Homolle dates it more closely between 338-334 B.C., *Bull. de Corr. hell.* XXIII, 440), the victory of Agias fell over a century earlier. Homolle proposed 428 B.C. as the floruit of Agias, but gave no date for his victory at Olympia; Preuner (p. 17) sets the victory "before the middle of the fifth century"; K. K. Smith (*Class. Phil.* 1910, 169-174) has proposed *Ol.* 80 = 460 B.C., which is the only lacuna for παγκράτιον in the *Oxyrh. Pap.*; however, Robert (*O.S.* p. 183) has placed Timodemus in this place. Smith's dating would maintain Christ's date for the second Nemean ode of Pindar, which otherwise would have to be dated before 480 or after 448 B.C.

As to whether the Delphi statue of Agias is a replica of an original bronze, or the actual work of Lysippus in marble, cf. Hyde, "Lysippus as a Worker in Marble," *A.J.A.* XI (1907), 413 sq.

group, in the travelling journal of Stackelberg (see *Pharsalos*, p. 28), who had copied it in the early part of the nineteenth century from a base in Pharsalus which has since disappeared, the latter inscription containing the additional words that Lysippus of Sicyon was the sculptor. Both inscriptions mention the victories of Agias at Olympia and elsewhere. Thus we know of two statues of Agias, one at Delphi, the other at Pharsalus, and both presumably by Lysippus. Preuner also thinks a third statue was set up at Olympia also.

14. *Cheimon*, of Argos.<sup>1</sup> In mentioning the statue of Cheimon at Olympia by the sculptor Naucydes of Argos, Pausanias in the same passage (vi, 9, 3), records another which stood formerly in Argos but was later removed to the temple of Peace at Rome.

15. *Leon*, son of Anticleidas (or Antalcidas), of Sparta.<sup>2</sup> Two fragments of Polemon (frag. 19 = Schol. on Eurip. *Hipp.* 230; frag. 22 = *F.H.G.* III, 122 = Preger, no. 128 = Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* III, 40 n.) mention a statue of Leon, which may have stood in Olympia or elsewhere. Foerster without sufficient reason assumes it was in Olympia.

<sup>1</sup> Cheimon won *πάλη* in Ol. 83 = 448 B.C. (*Oxyrh. Pap.*: cf. Robert, *O.S.* pp. 171 and 191; Hyde, no. 88). Foerster, no. 285, had proposed ? Ol. 94 = 404 B.C. on the basis of the older dating of Naucydes = 423-390 B.C. (see Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, 1886, p. 107). Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*, Berlin, 1886, p. 192, Anm. 1) thought the statue at Olympia and the one at Rome were identical; Gurlitt (*Ueber Pausanias*, Graz, 1890, pp. 374 and 423, Anm. 38 a) has shown the assumption is unfounded.

The temple of Peace was built by Vespasian (A.D. 70-75), east of the Forum Augusti. Pliny (*H.N.* xxiv, 84 and cf. xxxvi, 102) says it was full of works of art; Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vii, 5, 7) also describes it.

<sup>2</sup> Leon, according to Eust. on Hom. *Il.* II, 851 (= p. 361, 10) won *τεθρίππων* in Ol. 85 = 440 B.C. This date is followed by Schubart, "Pausanias und seine Ankläger," *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1884, 99, and Preger. He won in Ol. 89 = 424 B.C., according to Polemon (frag. 19), the date followed by Foerster no. 264 and 264 N. Foerster places Arcesilaus of Sparta (= no. 250) as victor in *τεθρίππων* in ? Ol. 85; Hyde (no. 13) places Arcesilaus either Ol. 86 or Ol. 87, leaving Ol. 85 free for Leon. Rutgers does not list Leon's victory.

Polemon (frag. 22) calls Leon the "father of Anticleidas"; Preger supposes the "son of Anticleidas," so that Leon won with his father's chariot. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* III, 40 n. changed the name to Antalcidas.



16. *Eubotas* (or Eubatas or Eubatos), of Cyrene.<sup>1</sup> Besides his statue in Olympia recorded by Pausanias (vi, 8, 3), we learn of another statue set up in Cyrene by his wife for his devotion (Ael. x, 2).

17. *Promachus*, son of Dryon, of Pellene (Achaia).<sup>2</sup> Pausanias not only mentions a bronze statue of Promachus at Olympia (vi, 8, 5-6), but also records one of stone dedicated likewise by his townsmen in the old gymnasium of Pellene (vii, 27, 5).

Of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C.:

18. *An unknown victor*, of Argos (or ? Tegea).<sup>3</sup> Aristotle mentions an inscription from a statue of an Olympic victor in two passages of his *Rhetoric* (I, 7, p. 1365 a [Bekker] and I, 9, p. 1367 b). This epigram was repeated by Aristophanes of Byzantium (apud Eust. *Odys.* xiv, 350 = p. 1761, 25), who wrongly ascribed it to Simonides (see Kaibel, "Quaest. Simonideae," *Rhein. Mus.* xxviii (1873), p. 452); cf. Bergk, frag. 163 (Simonides) in *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* III, 503 and restored 504 Anm., and Preger, *l.c.* Where the statue stood cannot be determined.

Of the fourth century B.C.:

19. *Cynisca*, daughter of Archidamus I, of Sparta.<sup>4</sup> Pau-

<sup>1</sup> Eubotas (on the name cf. Hitzig-Bluemner, II, II, 573-574) won *σπάρδιον* in Ol. 93 = 408 B.C. (Afr.; Interpol. Xen. *Hell.* I, 2, 1; Diodorus, XIII, 68, 1) and *τεθρίππων* in Ol. 104 = 364 B.C. (P. vi, 8, 3; cf. vi, 4, 2). Cf. Rutgers, pp. 55 and 62; Foerster, no. 277, 350; Hyde, no. 75. Pausanias (vi, 8, 3) says his Olympia statue was made before his victory. Ol. 104 was a non-Olympiad. See note on no. 25 below.

<sup>2</sup> Promachus won *παγκράτιον* in Ol. 94 = 404 B.C. (see Rutgers, p. 56, n. 4, who gives this date on basis of P. vii, 27, 6, and Philostr. *de Gymn.* p. 272, ch. 22). Cf. Foerster, 286; Hyde, no. 81.

<sup>3</sup> He won in an unknown contest, either in the fifth or the fourth century (Preger, no. 144, on basis of the epigram). Cf. Foerster, no. 293 a; Rutgers, p. 157. Foerster, in another place, no. 159, wrongly refers this same epigram (which he there ascribes to Simonides) to another unknown victor of Argos who won sometime between Ols. 65-76 = 527-476 B.C., the dates of Simonides' sojourn in Greece (cf. K. Sittl, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* (1884-1887), III, 59). It can, however, refer to but one victor.

<sup>4</sup> Cynisca won *τεθρίππων* (2) in ? Ol. 96 and ? 97 = 396 or 392 B.C. (see Hyde, no. 7, on basis of Robert, *O.S.* p. 195). Foerster, nos. 326 and 333, proposed ? Ol. 100 and ? 101 = 380 and 376 B.C. on basis of the inscription found at Olympia (*Inscr. v. Ol.* 160; Loewy, no. 99 and p. xxi). Cf. Rutgers, pp. 143-144.

sanias, before mentioning the monumental group at Olympia by Apelleas of Megara, consisting of the statues of Cynisca and her charioteer standing beside a huge bronze chariot and horses (vi, 1, 6), and the small bronze chariot by the same sculptor set up in her honor in the vestibule of the temple of Zeus (v, 12, 5 and see *Inscr. v. Ol.* no. 634 from its base), records that there was a shrine in Sparta near the youths' exercise ground erected to the heroine Cynisca (iii, 15, 1). This latter dedication, therefore, was not properly a victor monument.

20. *Archias*, son of Eucles, of Hybla.<sup>1</sup> An epigram in the Greek anthology (App. 372; also Pollux, iv, 92) speaks of a statue of this victor in Delphi.

21. *Philocrates*, son of Antiphon, of Athens (deme of Crioia).<sup>2</sup> An inscribed base of his statue has been found in Athens (*C.I.A.* 1303).

22. *Phorystas*, son of Thriax, of ? Tanagra.<sup>3</sup> The inscribed base of his statue, giving Caphisias of Boeotia as the sculptor, has been found at Tanagra (*C.I.G.* 1582, 1562 = Kaibel, *Epigram. Gr. ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin, 1878, no. 938 = Loewy, no. 119 = Collitz und Bechtel, *Samml. d. gr. Dialekt-Inscr.*, Göttingen, 1883-1890, no. 945).

Of the fourth or third centuries B.C.:

23. *Aristophon*, son of Lysinus, of Athens.<sup>4</sup> Besides his statue at Olympia, set up at the cost of the Athenian people, mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 13, 11; cf. vi, 14, 1), we have the

For the date of Apelleas, see Pauly-Wissowa, i, p. 2686. Pausanias (iii, 8, 1) says that Cynisca was the first Greek woman to train horses and win a prize at Olympia.

<sup>1</sup> Archias won as κήρυξ in three successive Olympiads (Pollux, iv, 92; the epigram says δὲ τρις ἐκήρυξεν). Foerster, nos. 351, 356, 361, proposes Ols. 104-106 = 364-356 B.C. (see under no. 351). Cf. Rutgers, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Philocrates won συνώριδι sometime about the middle of the fourth century (see Köhler on the inscription). Foerster, no. 365, proposes ? Ol. 107 = 352 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Phorystas won as κήρυξ sometime toward the end of the fourth century, i.e. the time of the artist Caphisias (see Loewy, on the inscription). Foerster, no. 405, proposes ? Ol. 117 = 312 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Aristophon won παγκράτιον sometime between Ols. 115-130 = 320-260 B.C. (from date of inscription from base of his statue at Olympia; see *Inscr. v. Ol.* no. 169. Cf. Hyde, no. 123 and p. 51). Foerster, no. 758 (following Rutgers, p. 122), had left the victory undated.

inscription from the base of another set up on the Acropolis at Athens (*C.I.A.* II, 1475).

Of the third century B.C. :

24. *Attalus*, father of King Attalus (Strabo, XII, 4, 2), of Pergamum.<sup>1</sup> The inscribed base of his great victor monument, erected by Epigonus, has been found at Pergamum (see *Inschr. v. Pergamum*, ed. Fraenkel, Bd. I, nos. 10-12, Berlin, 1890; cf. Loewy, no. 157).

Of the second century B.C.

None.

Of the first century B.C.

None.

Of the first century A.D.

25. *Xenodamus*, of Anticyra (Phocis).<sup>2</sup> Pausanias mentions a bronze statue of this victor in the old gymnasium at Anticyra (x, 36, 9).

<sup>1</sup> Attalus won *πῶλων ἄρματι* sometime during the reign of his older brother, Philetaerus, founder of the Attalid dynasty; *i.e.* between Ols. 124-129 = 284-264 B.C. (see Foerster, no. 436). An epigram of the philosopher Arcesilaus, of Pitane (mentioned by Foerster), celebrating the chariot race of this Attalus, is preserved in Diog. Laert. IV, 6, 30; cf. Fraenkel on the inscription no. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Xenodamus won *παγκράτιον* in Ol. 211 = 67 A.D. (P. x, 36, 9). G. Hirschfeld (*Arch. Zeit.* XL [1882], 110) objected to the statement of Pausanias, in this passage, that "this was the only Olympiad omitted in the Elean register," because of its inconsistency with other passages which state that in the 8th Ol. (VI, 22, 2), 34th (VI, 22, 2), and 104th (VI, 22, 3; VI, 4, 2; cf. VI, 8, 3, *i.e.* Eubotas won *τεθρίππων*), the games were celebrated by intruders and not by the Eleans themselves, and hence these Olympiads were regarded as invalid and were not entered in the Elean registers. However, the case of Ol. 211 was different; it was doubtless celebrated by the Eleans themselves, and its validity was not questioned, but was either never entered in the register, or, if entered, later struck out. Afr. (and cf. Philostr. *vit. Ap. Tyan.* 5, 7) gives the reason for its omission. He says the celebration of the 211th Ol., which should have fallen 65 A.D., was deferred two years to favor the emperor Nero, who, in 67, received prizes in six events. The Eleans, later being ashamed of having thus favored the tyrant, probably removed Ol. 211 from the register after his death. Perhaps for the same reason, statues of victors of that Olympiad were not set up at Olympia, which would explain why that of Xenodamus was set up in his home city, where Pausanias saw it and read the inscription. Not finding his name in the Elean register, he would reason that this victory occurred in the disgraced Ol. 211. Cf. Schubart, "Pausanias und seine Ankläger," *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, 1883, 472; Brunn, *ibid.* 1884, 24; Frazer, v, 454-455; Foerster, no. 641, and see under no. 638; Rutgers, pp. 88-89.

25 a. *Titus Flavius Artemidorus*, son of Artemidorus, of Adana (Cilicia).<sup>1</sup> The inscribed marble tablet from the base of the statue which this victor erected in Naples in honor of his father Artemidorus, son of Athenodorus, is preserved. It contains a list of his own many victories in *παγκράτιον* and *πάλη* in games held in Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Though the statue was erected to his father, the long inscription shows it was intended quite as much to celebrate his own athletic prowess. See *C.I.G.* no. 5806, and Kaibel, no. 746.

26. *Titus Flavius Metrobius*, son of Demetrius, of Iasus (Caria).<sup>2</sup> The inscribed base of his statue has been found in Iasus (*C.I.G.* no. 2682).

27. *Serapion*, of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Pausanias mentions two statues of this victor, standing on either side of the entrance to the gymnasium in Elis known as the Maltho. He says they were erected by the Eleans in gratitude for the bestowal of corn in a time of famine (VI, 23, 6).

Of the second century A.D.:

28. *Marcus Aurelius Demetrius*, of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> His son,

<sup>1</sup> T. Flavius Artemidorus won *παγκράτιον* (2). He was also *περιοδονίκης*. The "Magna Capitolia," in which he was victor, were instituted by Domitian in 86 A.D.; Foerster proposes ?Ols. 215 and 216 = 81-85 A.D. for the two victories; see nos. 657, 661.

<sup>2</sup> T. Flavius Metrobius won *δολιχος*, first of his countrymen, in Ol. 217 = 89 A.D. (from the inscription; cf. Boeckh on the inscription and Rutgers, p. 91, n. 2). Foerster, no. 665. He was also *περιοδονίκης*.

<sup>3</sup> Serapion won *πύξ παίδων* in Ol. 217 = 89 A.D. (P. VI, 23, 6). Cf. Foerster, no. 667; Rutgers, p. 91, n. 3, who doubts whether Serapion was an Olympic victor, though Pausanias says so.

This Serapion is not to be confounded with another Serapion of Alexandria, who won *σπάδιον* in Ol. 204 = 37 A.D. (Afr.). The latter is probably the same Serapion whom Pausanias (V, 21, 18) says came to the games in Ol. 201 = 25 A.D. to enter the *παγκράτιον*, but ran away the day before the contest and was fined for cowardice. Cf. Foerster, no. 620 and Rutgers, p. 86.

Serapion, of Magnesia ad Sipylum, victor in an unknown contest and date, known from an inscription (*C.I.G.* 2933) from Tralles, is a different person; cf. Foerster, no. 824; Rutgers, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> M. Aurelius Demetrius won *παγκράτιον* sometime before his son's victory in the same contest (Ol. 240 = 181 A.D., as we learn from the above-mentioned inscription; cf. Rutgers, p. 96; Foerster, no. 719). Foerster, no. 682, therefore proposes ?Ol. 225 = 121 A.D. for the father's victory; cf. Rutgers, p. 122. Both father and son were *περιοδονίκαι*. The father was called *ὁ παράδοξος*.

M. Aurelius Asclepiades, dedicated a statue to him in Rome, the inscription from the base of which is preserved (*C.I.G.* nos. 5912-5914, and Kaibel, nos. 1102-1104).

29. *Unknown victor*, from Magnesia ad Sipylum (Lydia).<sup>1</sup> His statue in Magnesia is known from its preserved inscribed base (see *Bull. de Corr. hell.* xi (1887), pp. 80 sq.).

30. *Cranaus* or *Granianus*, of Sicyon.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias mentions a bronze statue of this victor in the precincts of the temple of Asclepius, on the hill of Titane, near Sicyon (ii, 11, 8).

31. *Titus Aelius Aurelius Apollonius*, of Tarsus.<sup>3</sup> A statue of this victor stood in Athens, as we learn from its preserved inscribed base (*C.I.A.* 120).

32. *Mnasibulus*, of Elatea (Phocis).<sup>4</sup> His fellow citizens erected a bronze statue in honor of his repelling the robber horde of Costoboci, who overran Greece in Pausanias' day (x, 34, 5). The statue stood in "Runner" street.

Of the third century A.D. :

33. *Aurelius Toalius*, of ? Oenoanda (Cilicia).<sup>5</sup> The inscribed base of his statue has been found in Oenoanda (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* x (1886), pp. 216 sq.).

<sup>1</sup> This victor won *πάλη παίδων*, first of his countrymen, in Ol. 229 = 137 A.D. (date from the inscription; cf. Foerster, no. 691).

<sup>2</sup> Cranaus won *στάδιον* in Ol. 231 = 145 A.D. (Afr.) and *πένταθλον* (2), *δίαιλος* (1), and as *ὀπλίτης* (1), according to Pausanias (ii, 11, 8), but in unknown Olympiads. Cf. Foerster, nos. 697, 702-703, 707-708 (dating the four last victories in ? Ols. 232-233 = 149-153 A.D.).

Most writers have identified the Granianus of Pausanias with Cranaus of Africanus, as both are from Sicyon. Cf. Rutgers, p. 94 and n. 1. Kalkmann, *op. cit.* p. 74, Anm. 6, however, is against the identification.

<sup>3</sup> T. Aelius Aurelius Apollonius won as *κῆρυξ* during the reign of Antoninus Pius = 138-161 A.D. (cf. Dittenberger on the inscription). Foerster, no. 700, proposes ? Ol. 231 = 145 A.D. He was *περιοδονίκης*.

<sup>4</sup> Mnasibulus won *στάδιον* in Ol. 235 = 161 A.D. (Afr. and P. x, 34, 5), and as *ὀπλίτης* in Ol. 235 (P. x, 34, 5). He was *περιοδονίκης* in both events; cf. Foerster, nos. 712-713; Rutgers, p. 95. His son of the same name had a statue in the temple of Ath-na Cranaea at Elatea whose marble inscribed plate has been recovered; see *Bull. de Corr. hell.* xi (1887), p. 342 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Aurelius Toalius won ? *παγκράτιον* in the time of Alexander Severus = 222-235 A.D. (see Holleaux and Paris on the inscription). Foerster, nos. 735-736 proposes ? Ols. 251-252 = 225-229 A.D.

34. *Aurelius Metrodorus*, of Cyzicus.<sup>1</sup> The inscribed base of his statue was found in Cyzicus and is now in Constantinople (*C.I.G.* 3676).

35. *Valerius Eclectus*, of Sinope.<sup>2</sup> Besides his monument at Olympia, erected immediately after 261 A.D. (cf. recovered inscription from its base, *Inscr. v. Ol.* nos. 242-243), we know from an inscription of another monument dedicated to him in Athens some time between 253-257 A.D. (*C.I.A.* III, 129).

Of the fourth century A.D.:

36. *Claudius Rufus* (also called Apollonius the Pisan), son of Claudius Apollonius, of Smyrna.<sup>3</sup> We learn from an inscription that his statue stood in the council chamber of the Guild of Athletes of Hercules at Rome (*C.I.G.* no. 5910 = Kaibel, no. 1107).

37. *Philumenus*, of Philadelphia (Lydia).<sup>4</sup> The closing verse of an inscription belonging to the base of his statue is preserved in Panodorus (in Cramer. *Anecd. Paris.* II, p. 155, 17 = Preger, no. 133). Where the statue stood cannot be determined.

Of unknown dates:

38. *Aenetus*, of ? Amyclae.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias mentions the portrait statue of this victor at Amyclae (III, 18, 7).

39. *Nicocles*, of Acraiae (Laconia).<sup>6</sup> Pausanias mentions a

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Metrodorus won *παγκράτιον* about the time of Alexander Severus (see Boeckh, on the inscription). Foerster, no. 737, proposes ? Ol. 253 = 233 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Eclectus won as *κῆρυξ* (4) in Ols. 256, 258-260 = 245, 253, 257, 261 A.D. (see inscription). Cf. Foerster, nos. 741-744. He was *περιοδονίκης* (3) = *τρισπεριόδος*, and won 80 crowns in various games.

<sup>3</sup> Claudius Rufus won ? *πάλη* or *πύξ* or *παγκράτιον* near the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (see Kaibel on the inscription, p. 299). Cf. Foerster, nos. 748-749, and Rutgers, p. 154. He was twice *περιοδονίκης*.

<sup>4</sup> Philumenus won ? *πάλη*, according to Rutgers, p. 98, n. 3, either in Ol. 288 = 373 A.D., or "certe non multo prius" (on basis of the passage in Panodorus). He is also mentioned in a Roman inscription, given by Rutgers, *ibid.* Cf. Foerster, no. 750.

<sup>5</sup> Aenetus was victor in *πένταθλον*. Cf. Rutgers, p. 112; Foerster, no. 754, who wrongly gives the contest as *πύξ*.

<sup>6</sup> Nicocles, according to Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, won five prizes in running (*δρόμος*) in two Olympiads. Foerster, nos. 788-792, explains these words by arranging victories in *δίαυλος*, *δδλιχος*, and as *ἀπλίτης* in one Olympiad, and two of these

monument (*μνημα*) erected in his honor at Acraiae between the gymnasium and sea-wall (III, 22, 5).

40. *Aegistratus*, son of Polycreon, of Lindus (Rhodes).<sup>1</sup> A statue of this victor was set up at Lindus, as we learn from the preserved inscription on its base (*C.I.G.* no. 2527).

41. An *unknown victor*, of ? Delphi.<sup>2</sup> The inscribed base of his statue, with remains of the dedication, was found at Delphi (*C.I.G.* 1715).

In conclusion, then, I have found from the literary sources examined that there are forty-one Olympic victors, to whom a total of forty-four monuments were erected outside of Olympia.<sup>3</sup> These monuments were of various kinds, there being one inscribed tablet, one Pindaric ode engrossed on a temple wall, three temples or shrines, thirty-five statues (one of them iconic), and four dedications not further described. Thus the bulk of these monuments, as of those at Olympia, consisted of statues. Of the twenty-six monuments erected in the pre-Christian centuries, two were dedicated in the seventh, three in the sixth, twelve in the fifth,<sup>4</sup> one in the fifth or fourth, six in the fourth,<sup>5</sup> one in the fourth or third, and one in the third; there is no record of a dedication in the second and first. Of the fourteen erected in the post-Christian centuries, four belong to the first, five to the second, three to the third, and two to the fourth. There are also monuments of four other victors, whose dates cannot be determined. Thus, we find that the greatest number of dedications was made in the fifth century B.C., as was the case in regard to those at Olympia.<sup>6</sup> Ten of these victors also had monuments

contests in the next. Cf. Rutgers, pp. 105-106 and 107 and 126. Lebas (*Rev. Archéol.* II, 220) connects a restored inscription with this victor.

<sup>1</sup> Aegistratus won *πάλη παίδων*; cf. Foerster, no. 806; Rutgers, pp. 128-129.

<sup>2</sup> He won in an unknown contest and was three times *περιοδονίκης*, gaining 35 crowns at various games. Cf. Foerster, nos. 825-827.

<sup>3</sup> Three victors, Ladas, no. 10, Agias, no. 13, and Serapion, no. 27, had two statues each.

<sup>4</sup> Including the tablet of Chionis at Sparta, a victor of the seventh century.

<sup>5</sup> Including the two Lysippean statues of Agias, a victor of the fifth century.

<sup>6</sup> Of the 192 monuments referred to 187 victors mentioned by Pausanias in his victor periegesis at Olympia, only 153, belonging to 148 victors, can be exactly or

at Olympia. The total number of Olympic victor monuments, therefore, at Olympia and elsewhere of which we have record amounts to two hundred and ninety-nine.<sup>1</sup>

approximately dated. Of these, 33 monuments (referred to 32 victors) belong to the epoch prior to the approximate date of the founding of the temple of Zeus, *i.e.* prior to Ol. 77 (= 472 B.C.); 51 monuments (referred to 50 victors) from this date on to the approximate date of the battle of Aegospotami, *i.e.* down to Ol. 93 (= 408 B.C.); 36 monuments (referred to 34 victors) from then on to the time of Alexander the Great, *i.e.* to Ol. 106 (= 356 B.C.); and 33 monuments (referred to 32 victors) from that date to the close of the description of the athlete periegesis, *i.e.* from Ols. 107 to 149 (= 352-184 B.C.). See Hyde, *op. cit.* ch. IV, pp. 72 sq., and *A.J.A.* XVI (1912), no. 2. (In my victor lists, *op. cit.* pp. 3-24, I have enumerated 188 victors; however, Philon of Corcyra is listed twice, nos. 91 and 136.) Of these 153 monuments, nearly one-half (*i.e.* 74) belong properly to the fifth century (Ols. 70-94 = 500-404 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias mentions 192 (referred to 187 victors as above); 63 others (referred to 61 victors) are known to us from inscribed base fragments found at Olympia; see Hyde, *A.J.A. l.c.*; while 44 (referred to 41 victors) are known from literary sources as having stood elsewhere. If we deduct 10 victors who had monuments both at Olympia and elsewhere, we have a grand total of 279 Olympic victors, in whose honor these 299 monuments of various kinds were erected.